1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-8 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

641 over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the
[560] Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted
[203] another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and
621 it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

624 Every village had its officials, and its medium for discus-
622 sions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who,
[619] sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were
[643] the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of
[692] larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of auton-
632 omy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group
614 of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed
609 a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1929) 1934
123 Bush Negroes 123
Saramacca

their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Dousaou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samaam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maastroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relationship being counted through the female line. These groupings are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peeree lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre*, *Luwangu*, *Nasi*, *Betu*, *Cumu*, *Quama*, *Papoto*, and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the *Pekein Rio*, dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner
Aucaner

and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

The Granman can call a meeting of his captains at any time. They must attend, even though it involves days of rigorous travel. Although the captains look up to the Granman and acknowledge him as their superior, the connexion between them is not close enough to be considered a hierarchy. The "river nations" are not monarchies in any sense. The only laws promulgated by the Granman are those that affect the entire tribe.

Neither the captains nor the Granman have any privileges or prerogatives to set them apart from the undistinguished natives; there is no leisure class. They are all dependent upon their own efforts to earn a living, and work like anyone else in the village. Rank does not make social parasites out of them, as among us. The Granman's only external distinction is that sent by the white man, the tribute from the Dutch government. The type of social organization now prevalent among the Djukas, therefore, may be described as primitive communism.

The Aucaner, second in number to the Saramaccaner, are scattered in a less compact way over the rivers and creeks of the colony toward the French Guiana line. This tribe numbers about 6000 in population.

Just below the realm of the Saramaccaner tribe, at the junction of the Sara Creek and the Surinam River (see map facing page), are some of the Aucaner villages: Koffay Camp, Lebbi Doti, Lasa Baka, Pitchong, Baku, and other settlements. There are few villages on the long Sara Creek, but

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaners

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the Tonéo Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and *Otto lo*, which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo*, *Pata lo M'beh lo*, *Ju Nengre lo*, *Pensai lo*, *N'Yafi lo*, *Bray lo*, *Compai lo*, *Deekah lo*, *La Paix lo*, *Ko-o Condree lo*, and *Poolongoodoo lo*. The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo*, "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe into two separate parts, but they are both under the same Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* (Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the villages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis-

/509 cont./
October 1958 – January 1959), expeditions whose principal aim was the sociological study of these populations.

/510/

Social Structure and Way of Life

The Boni Refugee Blacks. The Boni are one of the above-mentioned tribes of the Refugee Blacks, reconstituted in the course of the eighteenth century by rebel African slaves who escaped from Surinam plantations (Dutch Guiana).

These tribes (Saramaka, Djuka, Paramaka, Boni) live for the most part along the rivers of the interior of Surinam. They group together a total of 25,000 persons.

With very rare exceptions, the Refugee Blacks are pure Africans. These populations, vigorous and well adapted to the country, have experienced in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a remarkable demographic increase, attested to by all the authors. Descended from small rebel groups which could not have contained more than a few hundred women, they are now estimated at more than 25,000 persons.

The Boni of the Upper Maroni, the subject of the present study, number approximately 800, of whom 660 are on the French bank (the villages of Boniville, l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Asisi, Papaliton, and Kormotibo) and 140 on the Surinam bank (the village of Kotika). These villages were established long ago.

Each of them groups together a matrilineage, i.e., the descendants in the uterine line of one single founding ancestress; certain villages know their genealogy in its entirety back to this ancestress, who must have lived at the end of the eighteenth century. The members of the lineage are united by the cult of the ancestors, which binds them firmly to their natal village and to their land. The social system is based essentially on this cult, the chief of the village being above all the priest of the ancestors.

Strictly speaking, there is no marriage, but only an acknowledged concubinage which entails neither a contract between the

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621

[For further information concerning the socio-demographic composition of each of the Boni villages, see category 116, pp. 478-630.]

163 [For additional data on the number of children per woman, mortality, Boni
165 emigrants, and the village of residence of lineage/sib members, see the
167 genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

621

/18 cont./

613
•[621] Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

[178] 1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village: for these lineages the words bff and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (bodeman or captain). The bff possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

Gilbraut--25 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

/19/

10	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Dife (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Sabon (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Aburamunga	Nachinengé
Papalison (Kawina)	Papalison village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

/12 cont./

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papa'lsion lo;

[578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papa'lsion lo founded Wéïti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dyu, Asisi-Awana Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, are not recognized by [969] the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Beside: the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word kàpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year. [969] [978] The village of origin of each /lo/ lineage is called "great village": it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga'tiki.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[613] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

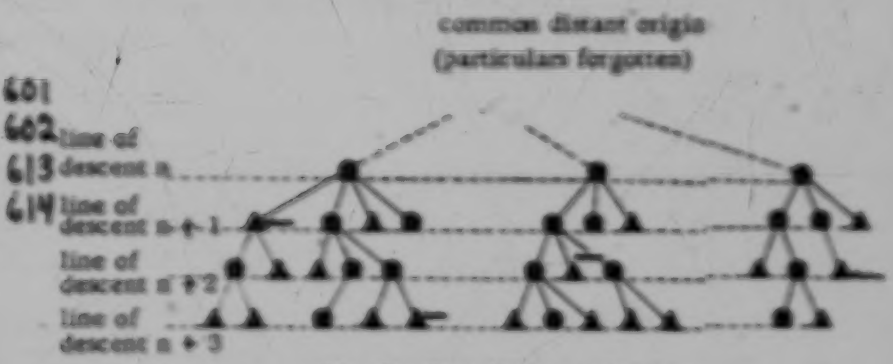

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 184 174 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélo, Lapé, Dju, and Papélon lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

[23 cont.]

621 195 [44] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive right over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abafitu Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

[613 614 601 701] /21 cont./
Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same taboo.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but there are seven cases of unions between members of different fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

[613 614 601 701 612 604 552 553]

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Bushis breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /See/ /Fig. 4 appears here./

[613 614 126 115 601]

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely while its members know it no more than partially.

Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

[613 614 602]

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p 34, Category B6 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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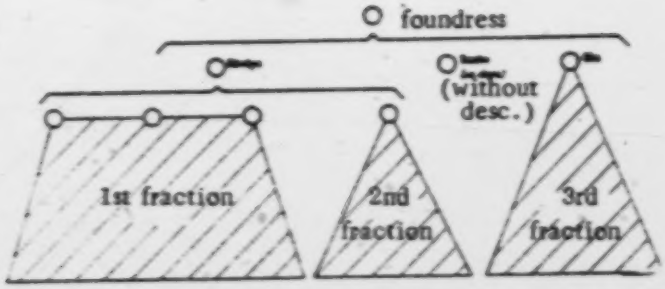

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[62] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[78] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo. /

613 [361] The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

/25 cont./

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common [601] origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
671 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

614
613 /26 cont./
[621] This village had no future. its complement did nothing but
[591] melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of
[177] venereal diseases.
[164]

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as
[784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

613 The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously with-
614 in Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted be-
582 tween Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term
[784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613 The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has
[621] remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost
[614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct
[784] bac. They do not have the same kunu.
[582] Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

613 Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which
62 fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally
[167] of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with
[101] the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family,"
621 Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more com-
614 plex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy
[621] shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba († 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was
614 "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several
571 other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta,
[621] a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The
[601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were
[784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs
614 of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother
784 and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage, they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the
614 point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
582 tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same
[183] fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[591] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.
The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin.
[619] Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the
621 AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect
571 to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin; a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 614 784 [621] although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 619 [361] [784] On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 614 591 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw.B.3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress.

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
• 621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̃pani nɛ̃nge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
761

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nēnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savane des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

/30 cont./

1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance, which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains in the form of a common worship;

2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

/34 cont./

601 They continue to use the terms soagi, pay, may even after the break-up of a marriage, so that they are in frequent usage. As for the woman herself, they say sa So-and-so in speaking to her, as to a sister.

581 Marriage. The conceptions of the Refugee Blacks on this subject are remarkable. Marriage in the African sense of the term, understood as a contract between two groups of relatives, does not exist among them. The union of the man and woman does not involve any sort of contract between their groups of relatives and consequently entails no matrimonial compensation. /35/ The Refugee Blacks are the only African Negro population to our knowledge whose customs do not involve any form of "dowry" either in money or in kind.

582 Family life in the sense that we understand it does not exist; as we shall see further on, marriage is forbidden between people of the same lineage, which implies that the husband and wife live in different villages. The man builds a house for his wife in her native village, but he does not come to live with her; he makes visits of several days to her as to his other wives, in the course of which he furnishes her with the imported objects (salt, kerosene, cloth, etc.) she needs, lends her his aid for heavy chores, while, for her part, she turns over to him the products of the clearing. The rest of the time he lives as a bachelor in his mother's village where he builds his own house. If he is very attached to his wife, he can come to reside with her and can even succeed without great difficulty in bringing her to live in his own village; but few couples take advantage of this option, for the man and wife prize their independence above everything else.

593 The life of the man and of the wife remain entirely separate and their union has more the character of a temporary association founded on material interests than that of a marriage; the family life of each one remains entirely centered around his or her matrilineage.

/37 cont./

An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/

CHAPTER III

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

/41 cont./

621 613 [591] The principle behind the constitution of the Boni villages is, as we have said, the localization of the matrilineage. Men and women live in the village of their maternal kin; the wife does not leave her village to join her husband, who comes to visit her from time to time without ceasing, himself, to live in the midst of his own lineage.

The composition of each village thus corresponds, at least in principle, to the group of living people on the genealogical table. But a certain number of exceptions are observed:

[167] -A certain number of men (about 20 out of 800 persons) have emigrated for good and can no longer be counted in the population of the villages;

[619] [591] -On the other hand, a dozen Djuka and Saramaka married to Boni women have settled permanently in the villages and have been included in the census.

125 128 [173] We have tried to estimate with as much precision as possible the age of the people concerned, by means of events of known date which they remember, from the trip of the explorer Crevaux (1878) to the war 1939-45. We have established a local chronology, reproduced as an appendix at the end of the present chapter.

125 The demographic survey, which has been the subject of another publication (1), was conducted parallel with the sociological investigation.

[113] 1. "Etude démographique comparée des Noirs Réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Oayana du Haut-Maroni /Comparative Demographic Study of the Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni/," in Population, éditions de l'INED, 1959, No. 3. 2 A

2 A [See S. Hurault, This file-- Analyst.]

BONIVILLE

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
1	△	Dfv grand man	Dikan	31	○	Pélui	P1, F34
2	△	Dodoya	Dip. 1, F82	32	△	Gonisutu (2nd house)	
3	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	33			
4	△	Fintiman	Dju, F6	34	△	Baafu	L2, E58
5	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7	35	○	Lomé	L2, F74
6	○	Eliana	Dju, F8	36	○	Térésa	L2, E57
7	○	Kulina	Dju, F9	37	△	Amakti	L2, F71
8	△	Domi	Dju, G13	38	△	Monpé	1. Poti
9	△	Lota	K3, E142	39	○	Aboomèki	
9(a)	△	Booki	K3, E133	40	△	Klémenti	Dju, F7
10	○	Mimi	K3, E156	41	○	Amékiwan	1. Poti
11	○	Lémiki	K3, D130	42	○	Léya	K2, F99
12	△	Tofioto	K3, E157	43	○	Paata	1. Poti
13	△	Lébiman	K3, D132	44	○	Chima	1. Poti
14	○	Achiké	K3, E140	45	○	Lésina	K2, F69
15	○	Sooto	K3, E142	46	△	Todo	K2, F68
16	○	Maka	K3, E146	47	○	Awini	K1, E37
17	○	Marta	K3, F140	48	△	Todo	K2, F68
18	○	Wawuy	K3, E130	49	△	Noël	Dip. 1, F83
19				50	△	Kallawa	1. Poti
20	○	Afingi	K3, D120	51	○	Bada	Dip. 1. F1
21	○	Akyénki	K3, E144	52	△	Madéko	K2, E89
22	△	Makalanchi	K3, F130	53	○	Amanichi	Dip. 1, F7
23	△	Sintamann	K3, E145	54	○	Cécilia	Dip. 1, E9
24	△	Asékéyé	P1, G25	55	△	Dyakata	Dip. 1, E4
25	△	Bukuman	P1, F32	56	△	Alichi	Dip. 1, F5
26	○	Apinda	P1, G96	57	○	Asumé	Dip. 1, F2
27	△	Gonisutu	P1, G64	58			
28	○	Alasani	P1, F34	59	○	Léya	K2, F99
29	△	Bénanu	P1, G61	60	△	Todo	K2, F68
30	△	Nanga	P1, G31				

Total on January 1, 1958: 116 persons, including 43 children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

Adult inhabitants whose residence in Boniville is not normal: none.

The members of the small Poti lineage, founded about 50 years ago by a Djuka woman, wife of grand man Ochi†, have normal residence here through their foundress. No Djuka, Saramaka, or Paramaka lives in Boniville.

G:Hurault--66 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
/45/ Boni

102
361
613
621

Agodé Village
(Boniville)
in Oct. 1957
Dikan Lineage
and Fractions of the Kotika, Dipelu I, Lapé, Papalisoé, Dju Lineages

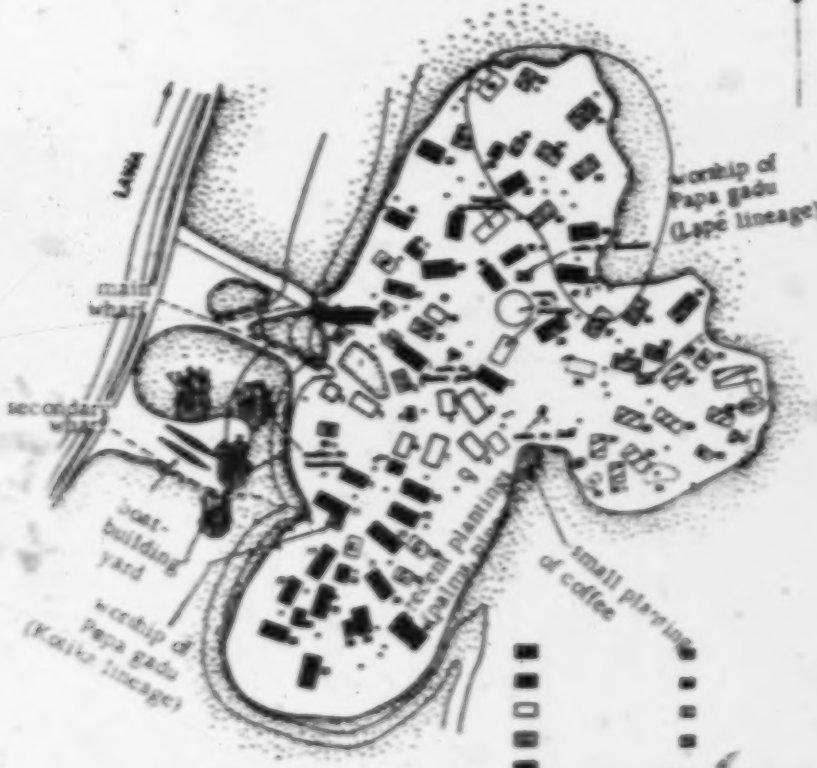

Fig. 7.

6:Hurault--60a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 [illegible]99 Bush Negroes: 598
Boni

/45 cont./

102
361
613
621

/The symbols below refer to Fig. 7 on p. 86./

Houses:

- Dikan
- Kotika
- Dju
- Djuelu
- Lapé
- Papaïston
- Poti (Djuka origin)

- chapels (gadu pu)
- Munu p/u (1)
- kitchens
- various outbuildings (granaries, etc.)
- building in ruins

- single trees
- clump of banana trees
- clump of pinot palms /awasi/

(1) Houses to which women retire during their menstrual period.

/46/

l'Enfant Perdu (Tabiki) Village

162
613
621

Legend

№		House of		№		House of	
3	○	Djalufu	Dip. I, E8	25	△	Fambléu	Dip. I, E62
6	△	Kasun (usually lives in Kotika	Dip. I, E3	26	○	Asuwèntina	K2, E73
				28	△	Damèni	Dip. I, E47
8	△	Biani	Dip. I, F76	30	○	Anusa	Dip. I, E48
9	○	Seume	Dip. I, E53	31	○	Towèchi	Dip. I, F64
10	△	Tabaye	Dip. I, F73	32			
11	○	Seumé (2nd house)		33	△	Malpa	Dip. I, F52
13	○	Abena	Dip. I, D39	34	△	Babun (2nd house)	
14	△	Polou	Dip. I, F77	36	○	Aséli	Dip. I, F60
15	△	Toh	Dip. I, D44	37	○	Elina	Dip. I, E44
16	○	Mata	Dip. I, F80	38	○	Anou	Dip. I, G50
17	△	Abegon	Dip. I, E35	39	○	Musinga	Dip. I, F51
19	△	Boyamati	Dip. I, E56	41	○	Apenza	Dip. I, F54
20	△	Simon	Dip. I, F78	42	○	Kodja	Dip. I, F55
21	△	Manku	Dip. I, F75	43	○	Sasyé	Dip. I, F56
22	△	Babun village head	Dip. I, D40	45	○	Poéchima	Dip. I, E42

622

Total on January 1, 1958: 65 persons, of whom 25 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

591 Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

○ Asuwèntina 1926, raised by her father Fambléu, remained in l'Enfant Perdu;

△ Yon. 1930, DJUKA, raised by his brother by the same father Tabayé in l'Enfant Perdu village, remained there afterward.

Total: 2 persons, of whom one is bringing up a child.

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

591 Adult inhabitants whose residence is normal: /Error for "not normal"? - Tr.

△ Aïnondo 1935, raised by his father Konaman in Loka, stayed there

○ Baïsoun 1924, raised by her father Maïobi in Loka, stayed there

○ Méchi 1922, raised by her father Kotio in Loka, stayed there

○ Noko 1937, raised by Namu, sister of her father, stayed in Loka

○ Régina 1936, raised by her father Popo in Loka, stayed there

Total: 5 persons, raising 7 children or adolescents under 16 years old.

cf Hurault--68 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Négroes SR8
Boni

102
361
613
621

/47/

l'Enfant Perdu Village
(Dipelu I lo)
in 1957

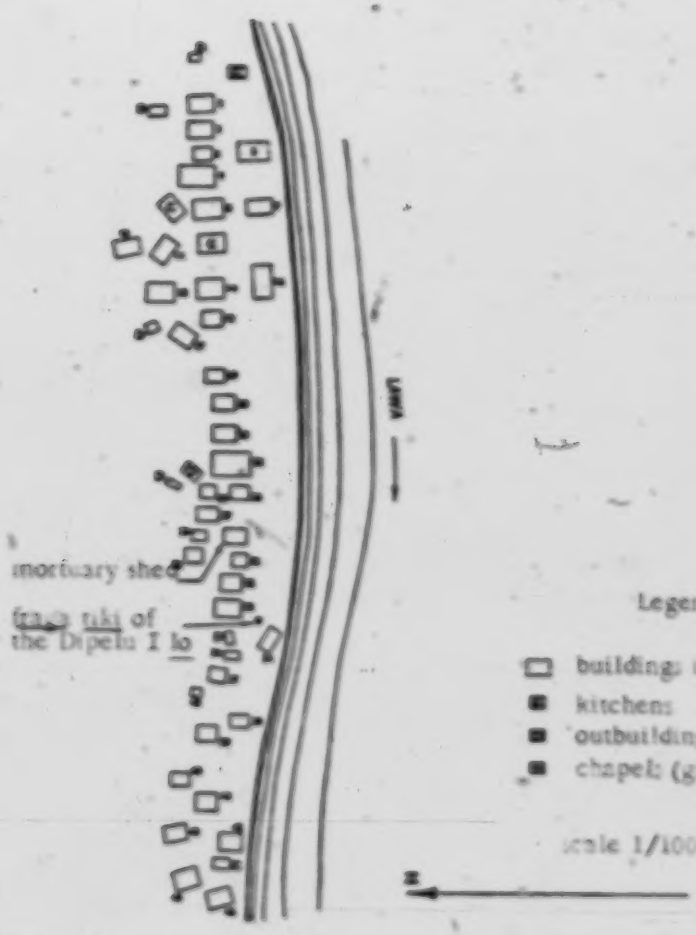

Fig. 9.

Hurault--69 F-3 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/48/

Loka and Lapé Tabiki Villages

Legend

Loka Village

№	House of		
1 4	◎ Bito	L1, D2	
3	△ Téloà	L1, E3	
2 5	○ Tofti	L1, E1	
6	△ Pikinbeale	L1, E2	
7	○ Totouman	L1, F1	
8	△ Dootè	L1, E10	
9	○ Balkom	Dju, F10	
11	△ Abété		
12	△ Malobi	Dip. 1, E50	
13	○ Alapu	L1, D9	
14	○ Apiéku	L1, E7	
15	○ Yaana	L1, E39	
16	○ Madu	L1, E41	
17	△ Topo	L1, E40	
18	○ Chii	L1, D24	
19	○ Koko	L1, E42	
20	△ Ayeubédé	L1, E37	
21	○ Mayon	L1, F27	
22	○ Saléni	L1, E25	
23	○ Kayé	L1, F26	
24	△ Tingo	L1, F25	
25	○ Awenkina	L1, D23	
26	○ Paako	L1, E29	
27	○ Do	L1, F35	
28	○ Akomédi	L1, F34	
29	○ Méchi	Aw. B.1, E27	
30	○ Balansi	L1, F37	
31	○ Mémé	L1, E34	
32	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
33	△ Akwadé	L1, E22	
34	○ Ondi		
35	△ Pwen	L1, E33	
36	△ Koniman	L1, E31	
37	○ Akuba	L1, E30	
38	○ Afuyéti	L1, F38	
39	△ Afoondo	Aw. B.1, F56	
40	○ Mélita	L1, E32	
41	○ Abiaman	L1, F39	
42	○ Téké	L1, F44	
43 44	△ Tamu	L1, F32	
45 46	△ Posé	L1, F33	
47	△ Somié	L1, E24	
48	△ Popo, head of the village	L1, E23	

Lapé Tabiki Village

№	House of	
1	○ Asamani	L1, D15
1a	Manntau	L1, E20
2	Tabiki†	
3	△ Butu	DJUKA
4	△ Sofé	L1, D13
5	○ Twa †	L1, E14
6	○ Asolda †	L1, C11
7	○ Kama	L1, E15
8	○ Adoimba	L1, E17
9	△ Maaten	L1, E18
10	△ Tyaka	L1, D16
11	○ Yundu † 1957	L2, G60
12	○ Asakundu	L2, E55
	○ Angisa	L2, F61
13	△ Anato	L2, G61

Total on [illegible] 1958: [illegible] persons of whom 64 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

491

102
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621

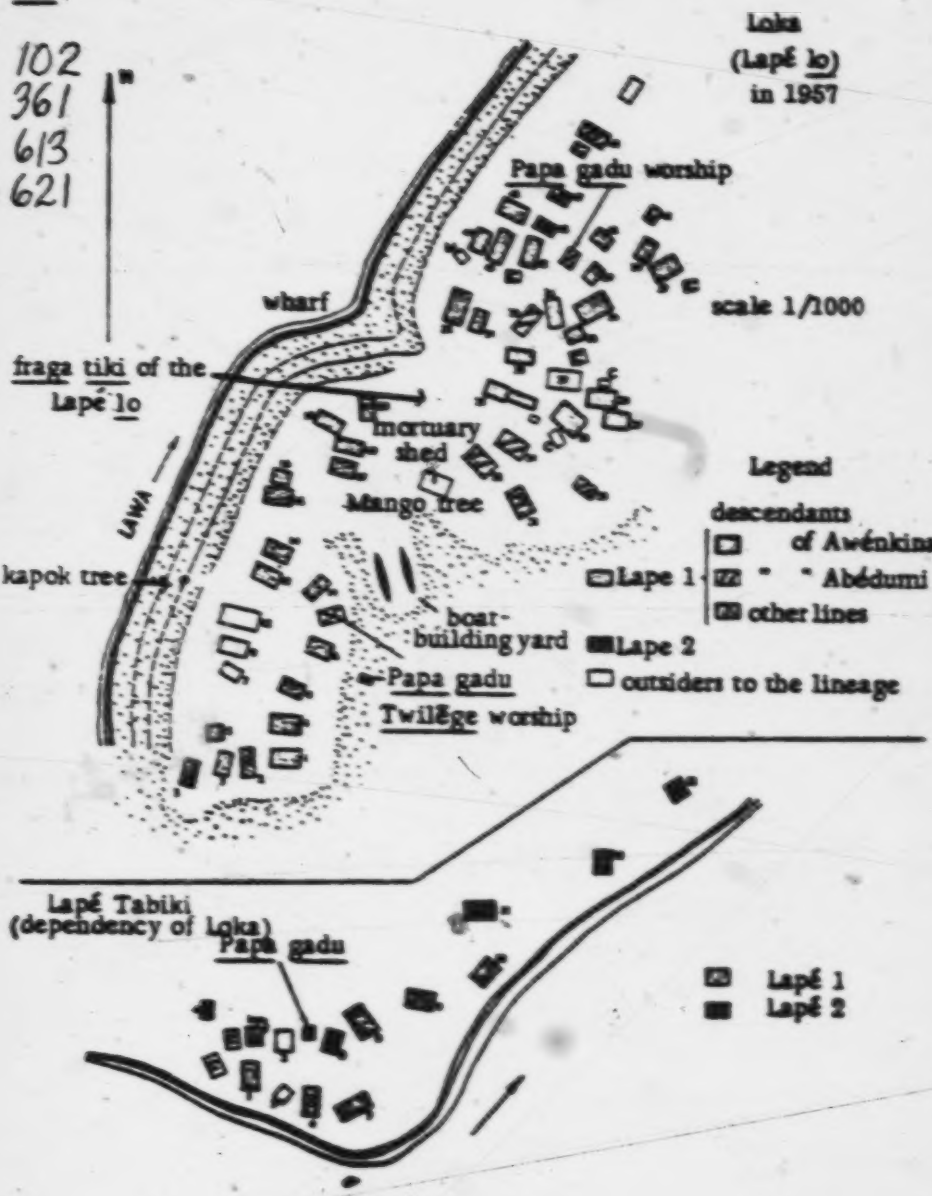

Fig. 9.

/50/

Asisi Village--Dju Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Fraga	Dju, F18	25	○ Paana	Dju, G2
2	△ Loko	Dju, F39	26	○ Téodora	Dju, G40
3	△ Sooman	Dju, E14	27	○ Pikè	Dju, F28
4	△ Fraga (2nd house)		29	○ Dabisa	Dju, G45
5	△ Tyolo	Dip. II, F48	30	△ Yaka	SAR.
6	△ Wènu	Dju, F38	31	△ Soalufu	Dju, G42
7			32	○ Aliki	Dju, E23
8	△ Koniami	Aw. B.1, G1	33	○ Maria	Dju, F11
9	○ Yéèchi	Dju, F3	34	△ Achiké	Dju, F13
10	○ Wima † 1957		35	○ Félicia	Dju, G41
13	△ Féni	Dju, G3	36	△ Bernardin	K1, D60
14	△ Adiso, village head	Dju, F37	37	△ Achiké (2nd house)	
15	○ Pamasa	Dju, E26	38	○ Dachini	Dju, F16
16	○ Buba	Dju, G1	39	○ Adyidya (2nd house)	
17	○ Aguba	Dju, G14	40	○ Kukusa	Dju, F40
18	○ Sara	Dju, E27	41	△ Faawé	Dju, F19
20	○ Ata	Dju, F2	42	○ Ursûla	Dju, D3
21	○ Adyidya	Dju, E19	43	○ Wima † (2nd house)	
22	○ Lènga	Dju, F36	44	○ Diana	Dju, E9
23	○ Sara (2nd house)		45		
24	○ Tini	Dju, F1	46	○ Baawé	Dju, E13

Total on January 1, 1958: 67 persons of whom 24 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence is not normal:

△ Koniami 1935, raised by his father among the Dju, stayed there afterward;

△ Tyolo 1919 idem

△ Yaka 1870, old Saramaka moved in with his wife Aliki;

△ Bernardin 1885, raised by his father among the Dju where he took a wife;

○ Afatia 1930, raised by her father among the Dju, stayed with her brother by the same father Féni.

Total: 5 persons, of whom one is raising a child.

6:Hurault--72 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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Asisi
Dju Quarter
(Dju lo)
in 1957

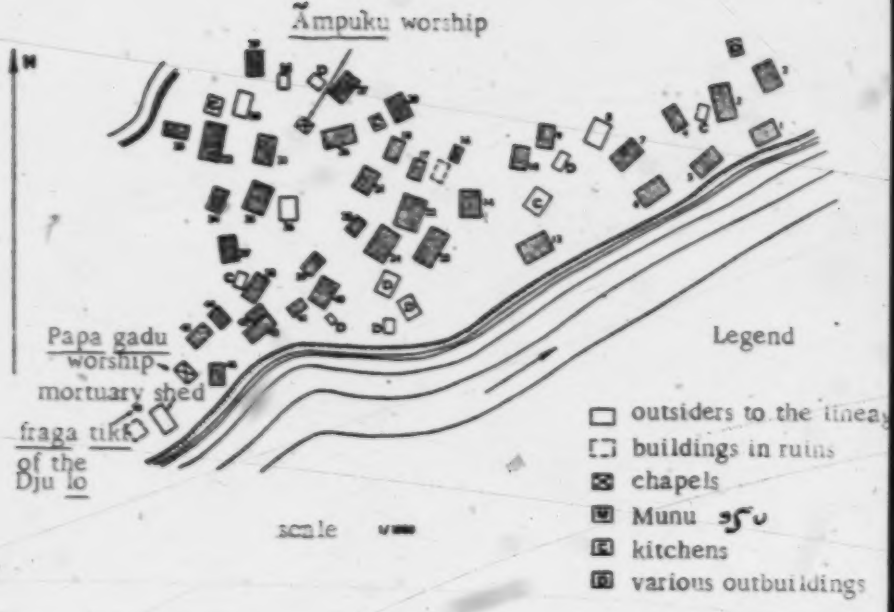

Fig. 10.

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Asisi Village--Awara Bakka Quarter

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	△ Amusupé 1887	Aw. B. 1, E3	30	○ Noémi	Aw. B. 1, F51
2	△ Kondoku, village head	Aw. B. 1, E22	31	△ Empalé	DJUKA
3	○ Kyéti	Aw. B. 1, E30	32	△ Antonu	Aw. B. 1, E47
4	○ Mani	1. Afi, d12	33	○ Agyasu her △ Maliki, husband	L2, F64
5	○ Paniki	1. Afi, d13	34	○ Irma	Aw. B. 1, E37
6	△ Awéni	1. Afi, c12	35	○ Bugi	Aw. B. 1, F41
7	△ Agibidon	Aw. B. 1, E21	36	○ Akumuyé †	Aw. B. 1, D17
8	○ Akichi	Aw. B. 1, F27	37	○ Méédié	Aw. B. 3, F90
9	△ Boofo	Aw. B. 1, E31	38	○ Mona	Aw. B. 1, F50
10	○ Biyo	Aw. B. 1, F11	39	△ Mato	Aw. B. 1, E46
11	△ Matapi	1. Afi, c3	40	○ Chitaina	Aw. B. 1, F43
12	△ Béti	Aw. B. 1, F37	41	○ Lébimay	Aw. B. 1, F55
13	△ Aminto	Aw. B. 3, E74	42	○ Namu	Aw. B. 1, E48
14	○ Kuluba † 1957	Aw. B. 1, D1	43	○ Léna	Aw. B. 1, E52
15	○ Fakima	Aw. B. 2, E61	44	△ Maïna	Aw. B. 1, F42
16	○ Abuyu	Aw. B. 2, E63	45	○ Lébimichi	Aw. B. 1, F27
17	○ Koluku	Aw. B. 2, E59	46	○ Amélia	Aw. B. 1, F19
18	△ Garson	Aw. B. 1, F7	47	△ Ernest	Aw. B. 1, E25
19	○ Summa	Aw. B. 3, F81	48	○ Apinda	Aw. B. 1, F16
20	○ Emma	Aw. B. 2, D25	49	△ Bésu	Aw. B. 1, F17
21	○ Titi	Aw. B. 1, E16	50	○ Kakié	Aw. B. 1, E18
22	△ Akodo	Aw. B. 2, E55	51	○ Atuku †	Aw. B. 1, E26
24	○ Saanéti	Aw. B. 2, D28	52	○ Ayékuman	Aw. B. 1, F8
25	△ Asakya	Aw. B. 2, E65	53	○ Soéfi	Aw. B. 1, F10
26	△ Kondoku (2nd house)		54	△ Dopia	Aw. B. 1, F9
27	○ Akanté	Aw. B. 3, E70	55	△ Baakaman	Aw. B. 1, F12
29	○ Kilina	Aw. B. 3, E71	56	○ Alicia	Aw. B. 1, E32

Total on January 1, 1958: 145 persons of whom 60 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

NOTA: The Awara Bakka lineage settled earliest on the island of Asisi, and when the Boni speak of Asisi village, they usually mean the quarter occupied by this lineage.

[591] Adult inhabitants of the village whose residence is not normal:

△Empalé 1905, DJUKA mother, raised by his father Péeyon in Asisi, remained there afterward;

△ Maliki 1928, raised by his father in Asisi, remained there afterward;

○ Delina 1931, DJUKA woman settled near her husband Maïna.

Total: 3 persons.

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Asisi Village
Awara Bakka Quarter
Awara Bakka lo, fractions 1, 2, 3
fragment of the Afi lineage in 1957

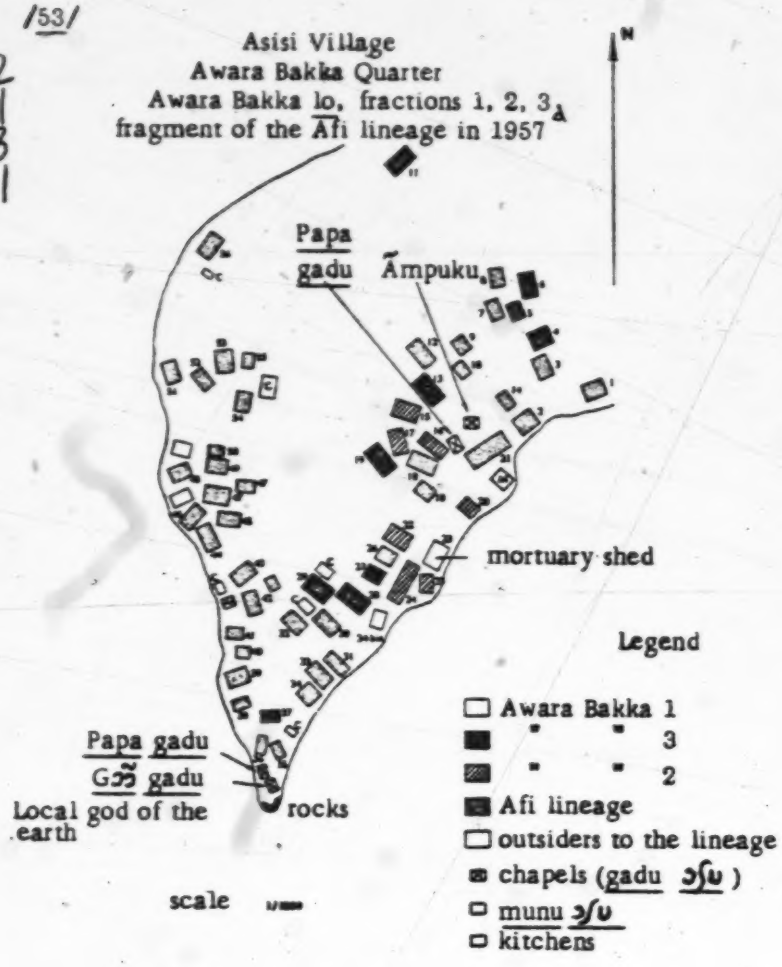

Fig. 11.

Papaïston Village

Legend

N°	House of		N°	House of	
1	○ Bèlfi	P1, F19	18	○ Kumata	P1, G1
2	○ Oben	P1, E13	19	△ Sawen	P1, E7
3	○ Dodo	P1, F11	20	○ Emilia	P1, F3
4	△ Yusu	P1, E16	21	△ Galmo	P1, E15
5	○ Kamen	P1, E14	22	○ Hèlèna	P1, F2
6	○ Agodéuman	P1, F10	23	○ Gou	P1, F8
7	○ Mili	P1, F20	24	△ Afay †	
8	○ Donasi † 1957	P1, E35	25	○ Puti	P2, F71
9	○ Asenten	P1, E10	26	○ Ondi	P1, F49
10	○ Aduudu	P1, H61	27	○ Atipay	P1, F47
11	△ Tafanié, village head	P1, E12	28	○ Dopi	P1, G40
12	△ Tolinga	P1, E11	29	△ Agodéba	P1, E1
13	○ Efa	P1, D4	30	○ Toïna	1. Toïna
14	△ Aguundé	P1, F4	31	○ Apuulobi	1. Toïna
15	△ Dudu	P1, F18	33	△ Apuyu	1. Toïna
16	○ Kokoyo	P1, F9	34	○ Bèndya	P1, F12
17	○ Wilèlmina	P1, F1	35	△ Mangoto	P1, F20

Total on January 1, 1958: 83 persons, of whom 36 are children and adolescents under 16 years.

No outsider to the lineage lives in the midst of the Papaïston; the members of the Toïna lineage live isolated at the southern end of the village.

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Papaïston Village
in Oct. 1957
Kawina or Papaïston lineage,
fragment of the Toïna (Bakabuchi) lineage

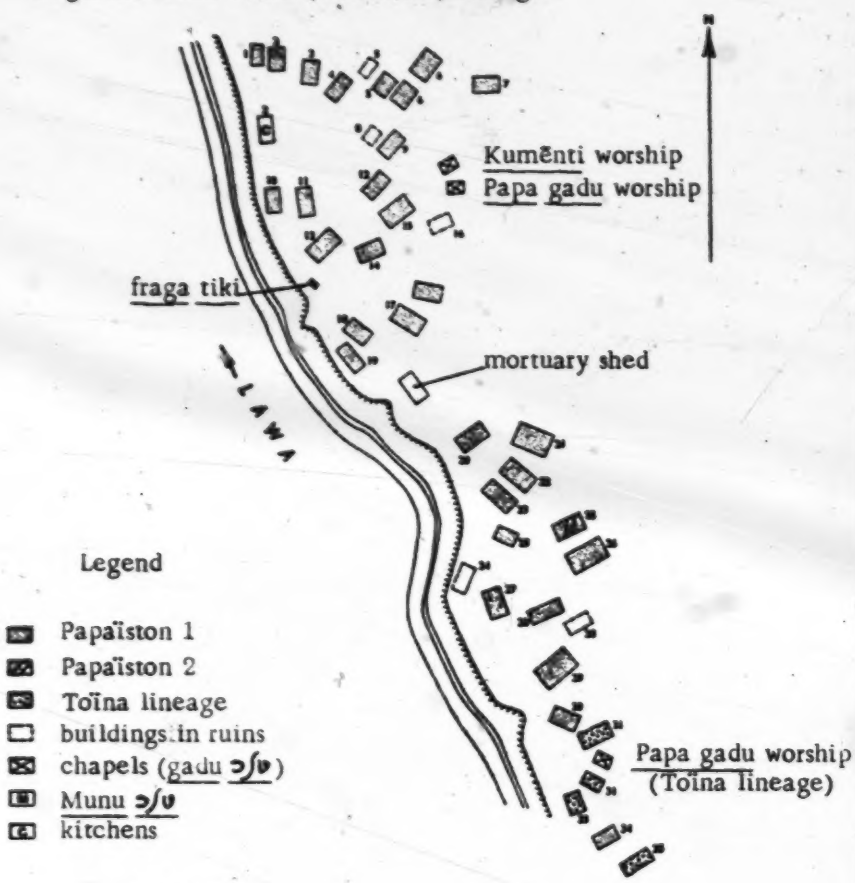

Fig. 12.

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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/57/

621 Structure and Composition of the Villages

The examination we have just made of the peopling of six villages shows important aspects of the social organization and material life of the Boni.

591 [613] Kin groups in the villages. We have seen that the principle of Boni residence was localization of the whole lineage, men, women, and children, which implies the absence of common household life, man and wife each living in his own village.

This principle of matrilocal residence is effectively applied [162] [621] in nearly all cases. In 1957, out of all the 670 persons in the villages on the French bank, only 27 adults out of 410, or six per cent, were living in the midst of their paternal relatives or had settled permanently in the village of their spouse.

591 613 Nowhere is seen any tendency toward patrilocal grouping; the small lineages issued in the course of the past two generations from Djuka or Bakabuchi wives who came to settle permanently near their husbands do not escape the common law. Their members follow strictly, with respect to their ancestress, the principle of matrilocal residence.

613 571 621 Another important conclusion is revealed by examination of the genealogical tables:

When a scission takes place within a lineage, scattering its members among several villages under different authorities, this scission is never complete. Lineage members feel at home as much in one as in the other of these villages and go at will from one to the other.

613 621 The Dipélu I example is particularly clear in this respect. Its members are divided among these villages: L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, and Boniville (where this lineage occupies a quarter).

/57 cont./

613 The descendants of ○Monika † were scattered among these
• 621 three villages. △Kwau, the eldest, after living at Apatu until
591 the age of 70 years, moved in 1958 to Boniville; ○Djalufu lived from childhood at L'Enfant Perdu, Cécilia was raised in Boniville where she has lived since.

Again, let us cite the example of the descendants of Wétiti (Papaïston 1). Out of her 12 adult children and grandchildren living in January, 1958, seven established themselves with her in the habitation she founded on the estuary of the Maroni several hundred kilometers from Boni country, two live in Boniville (where the Papaïston lineage delegated a few of its members to live close to the grand man), three came back to live in Papaïston. In spite of this dispersion, there is perfect understanding among these brothers and sisters who remain in regular relationship.

128 Emigration; immigration; founding of new lineages. It is not
167 possible to give rigorous figures on this subject because it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between temporary and permanent emigrants. It does happen that a man /58/ who left a long time before and on whom they no longer counted comes back to take up again his place in ordinary living. It also happens that a man who left for a short trip prolongs his absence indefinitely.

167 Nevertheless, it can be asserted that long lasting emigration affects only a very small percentage of the Boni, and men almost exclusively. Out of 810 persons in the census, in registering the names of their brothers, sisters, and children, we noted only some 20 emigrants considered as permanently lost to their group, including four women.

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

[162] [621] For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 591 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

• 621 [183] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle [613] is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

613 /59 cont./
621 except in villages like Boniville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̌nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1, 2, 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

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There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead ma sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tre to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

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621 613 Case of the village of Boniville. This village constitutes an especially interesting case, for it brings together small fractions of [174] the various lineages permanently settled there. It helps one to understand what the territorial implantation of the Refugee Blacks may have been toward the end of the 18th century at the time when their institutions were developing.

621 613 423 [643] [425] The principle is that the Boniville lands belong to the grand man, the last representative of the Dikan lineage; he granted individually to the inhabitants of the village the right to farm his lands. These inhabitants thus hold only a right of use, and there can be no competition among them for the possession of the real rights. But the principle of transmission of the right of use in the same lineage remains for each clearing taken separately. For example, Klémenti (Dju, F7), who made a clearing out of primary forest, concedes that after him his land may be occupied by any member of the Dju lineage residing in Boniville, but not by Dju lineage members living in Asisi. /81/

423 621 Few in number on a relatively extensive territorial sector, the inhabitants of Boniville have not felt the need to divide the sector granted by the grand man into precise territorial zones.

423 425 613 It is difficult to foresee what will happen after the death of Grand Man Difu when the rights of use will be transformed into real rights. It is probable that a territorial division among the fractions of the lineage established in Boniville will be imperceptibly created by the simple fact that competition will arise among them.

423 Fishing, hunting, gathering, and mineral exploitation rights. These rights are totally separate from the right to farm; in this respect the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks reveal the precariousness of the bonds between the individual and the soil, which results from ecological conditions.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
222 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
[425] creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
[224] to hunt anywhere.

[222] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
[313] planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

423 The right to collect underground products is completely
316 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
317 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/82/

Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

[182]
[241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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423 Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages.
[489] At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

/82 cont./

423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136 311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots in January, 1957

• 621 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

/83 cont./

621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

[643] The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations: (K) Kotika (D) Dikan (Dip) Dipélu
(Dju) Dju (P) Papaïston (L) Lapé

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2	△	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3	○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4	○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5	△	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6	○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotika lo) † in 1950
7	○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan io (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Atasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatod,a	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Atasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	O	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	O	Atasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	O	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	O	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

/86 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	Δ	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

/86 cont./

C21 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
[614] Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine,

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

/87 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	○	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	Δ	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Utu locality]

/88 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

/89 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tint; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo† (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

621 /89 cont./
613 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
423 find clear boundaries.

These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67	O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68	O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69	O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70	O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71	O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka to (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	○	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	○	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbé	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	○	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	△	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	○	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

/92 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E16); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing ... cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing ... cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

/93 cont./

621 613 423 241 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91 ○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92 ○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the lst time
93 △	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94 △	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95 ○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96 ○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97 ○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

/95/

Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 ○	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 ○	Oden (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fraction having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute;

/96 cont./

423 613 621 --The principle of matrilocal grouping is effectively applied in nearly all cases. The matrilineages have almost all formed, according to this principle, separate finages, on which their rights are well established; most of these lands appear to be of old formation;

423 613 621 591 --The lineage fractions which have separated themselves geographically from their original grouping have formed finages over which their members exercise exclusive rights. For example, out of the lands of the Dipélu II fraction settled in Asisi not a single case is reported of use by members of the main fraction of the lineage living in Kormotibo;

--The inhabitants of a village subject to one authority possess collective rights over the lands of that village and form a de facto community, even if they belong to different lineages. We have found two characteristic examples of this, Boniville and Asisi-Awara Bakka; by coming to live in a village and subjecting oneself to the authority of the head, one enters ipso facto into this community.

This custom is in contradiction with the principle of the exclusive rights of the lineage over the soil, but the contradiction is more apparent than real; it makes possible the integration, into a collectivity, of detached persons and small fractions incapable of forming a separate village.

The actual situation thus created is not at all permanent. If a lineage fraction wishes to separate itself either as a consequence of a disagreement or simply because its numbers have grown sufficiently, it always has the right to do so.

The fundamental principles of the basic rights of the Boni can thus be summarized thus:

"Rights over the soil are joint within the fraction of a lineage whose members live in the same village and are subject to the same authority; any scission of a lineage which has to do with the residence village entails a scission of rights over lands. The

/96 cont./

423 613 621 571 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

241 423 613 621 The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

/97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

192 171 (199) Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Cayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

6:Hurault--142 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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Distribution of Lands in the Neighborhood
of the Principal Boni Villages

● Permanent villages
___ Boundary lines

Scale: [illegible]

K. or Cr. = Creek,
Lieu-dit = locality,
h. du grand man = habitation of the grand man,
Zone inondable = flooded zone./

Fig. 16.

182 161 241 423 613 /99/ That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

182 Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

128 We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

241 62 184 Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

241 621 361 162 613 The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïton lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

241 184 62 [361] [162] On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kɛ̃pu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] [184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛ̃ɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Aduiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Aduiso given to the habitation of his wife where Aduiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

[613] Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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613 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

621 To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
241 whose situations are very different:
592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

621 592 241 [423] 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso, but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

- ○ [△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
- ○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
- ○ Kapéeki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
- ○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
- △ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
- △ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
- ○ Yundu, Kapéeki's daughter, married;
- △ Anato, Kapéeki's son;
- ○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapéeki, Yundu, and Angisa come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings. 241

Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56: 621

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapéeki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

/104 cont./

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		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[423]
[613]

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /10/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	◯	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	◯	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F53), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	◯	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	◯	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10	○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as "OAgata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16	○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17	△	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for the 1st time

6:Hurault--155 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SRi Boni

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21	○	Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43 ○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45 △	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46 △	id.		id.	id.
50 ○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936(?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51 △	Samalobi † (Dikan lo)	1920(?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?--Tr./

/108 cont./

62 592 24 423 613 602 476

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési /109/
/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/		
Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

621 592 241 [589] [476]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

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Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

/111 cont./

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Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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[476]

Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

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Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

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[622]

The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)
△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:

△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423]

Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none 621 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the 613 Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for ex- 423 ample, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 △	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

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/113/

Habitations of the Papalisso lo in the Neighborhood of the Inini

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Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papalisso lo).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papalisso lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

--His nieces Héléna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);

--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

Toïna, Agodéba's wife;

Mangoto, Toïna's son;

Apuuloni.

[423] This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papalisso 2 lineage.

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Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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		1956	1955
○	Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Malpa (Dip. I)	id.
△	Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○	Apuniobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Asémi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
81	△	Sawen, for himself	1920(?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
82	△	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
83	△	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
84	△	Sawen, for himself	1946(?)	id.	id.
85	○	Hélléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68 △	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71 ○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.

Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

- △ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
- △ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
- ○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
- ○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
- ○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

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The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

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Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Balma is on mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Abomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Assi for his other wife)	

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(61-3)

Listing of several clearings of the Saamo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo)

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○ Abomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○ Abomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabi K.)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II to Pomotibo village. Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 241 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in 1953; /117/

613 423 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina, ○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);

○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;

△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 241 591 Functioning of the Farming Habitations

Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

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591 /117 cont./ Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

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178 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

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241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

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166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I) left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.

○ Chili (Dip. I) went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.

△ Kwaku (L) His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.

[226] △ Akwadé (L) Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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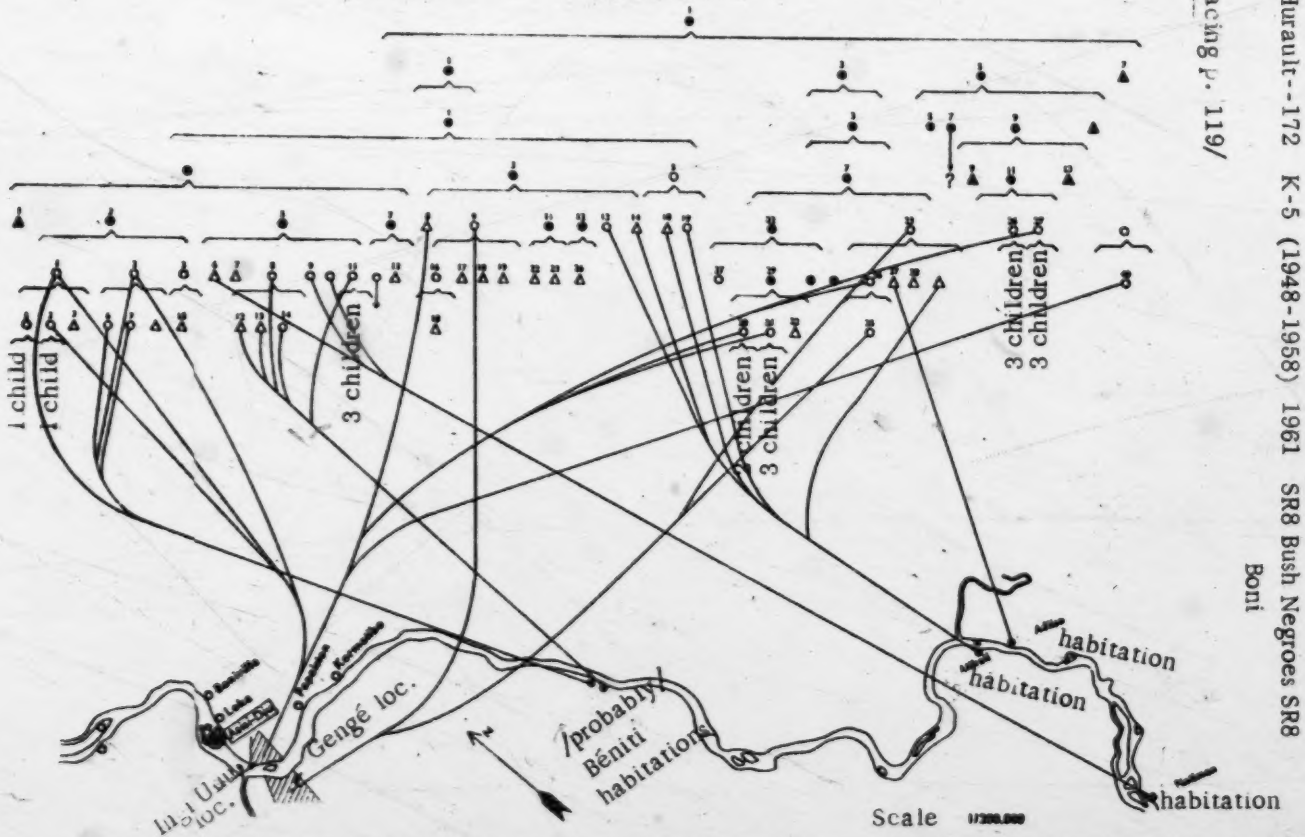
Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage
into Sectors and Farming Habitations
October 1957

/facing p. 119/



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions

Fig. 20.

/122 cont./

845 [621] Observation at Maripasoula, November 3, 1956. The wife of Baïna, boatman of the border-fixing mission, gave birth at Pikin Tabiki, small farming village where she works with her mother and the latter's husband. Baïna went to be present at the delivery.

It was very long and dramatic. According to Baïna, an ɔgi sani had entered the child's body, making him stiff and impossible to extract. As a last resort they called a neighbor, T..., known for having a good gita. He called his gadu who revealed an efficacious remedy, since after the body of the sick woman was bathed with the prescribed leaves, the delivery ended successfully.

846 [515] Since we were leaving on our trip, it remained to find someone to take his place in fulfilling one of the husband's duties: cutting the supply of wood for heating the water necessary for the hot douches /showers?/ the mother was going to be given several times a day for about three months. He made an agreement [465] for that with Kwata, his mother-in-law's husband, to whom he will pay about 1,000 francs.

851 613 [603] Presentation of the child. On the eighth day the maternal grandmother (or great-grandmother if she is still living) takes the child and gives it to another ancestress of the same lineage, stationed in front of the house. The latter presents it to the family. Then [769] the head of the lineage, without taking the child, goes to the [778] fraga tiki to make an offering of tafia, asking the ancestors to [782] protect it.

For example, for the birth of A... (Lapé Tabiki village), son of O Yundu (L2, G60), it was Asakundu, grandmother of Yundu and great-grandmother of the child, who came to take him in the house and gave him over to her sister Térésa (L2, E57) to present him to the family (see genealogical table of the Lapé lineage, fraction 2).

/142 cont./

582 619 of other groupings are rare; that is because the Boni have almost no occasion to frequent the Tapanahoni, where economic activity is nil.

For 123 married men of the villages on the French bank there were in November, 1958, 11 unions with Djuka women, or 8 per cent. No marriage to Saramaka or Paramaka women existed.

582 613 The table confirms besides that marriages between members of different kin groups are entirely free and are not subject to any preoccupation with exchange or reciprocity. For example, out of 60 unions between Boni women of the Lapé lineage and Boni men, we have:

6 with men of the Dipélu I lineage
7 -- -- - - Dipélu II --
7 -- -- - - Papaïstone --
11 -- -- - - Awara Bakka --
4 -- -- - - Dju --
5 -- -- - - Dipélu I /sic/ --
20 -- -- - - Kotika --

[628] In fact, the geographical proximity of the villages has the most direct influence on unions.

582 613 628 For example a high proportion of women from Kormotibo (Dip. II) married men from Papaïston and reciprocally.

That comes from the fact that these villages are near each other and isolated from others. It is the same for Kotika and L'Enfant Perdu (Dip. I). In the small Afi lineage, divided between Kormotibo and Asisi-Awara Bakka villages, more than half the women are married to inhabitants of these two villages.

582 619 621 Certain personal affinities and habits of living have an indirect influence. For example, the Djuka boatmen passing through Boni country habitually stay in Asisi-Awara Bakka, because they are received in the homes of some of their own

582 /142 cont./
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62 people who have lived there for a long time. They strike up relationships with the people of Asisi, and that favors new unions. This explains the high proportion of unions between the women of this village and the Djuka (13 out of 75). On the contrary, almost no marriages to Djuka are observed in Papaïston village, where no Djukahas settled permanently. /143/

584 The marriage proposal. The suitor is obliged to ask for the
613 assent of his own mother and his uncles (at the very least the
[604] eldest of his classificatory uncles); in general he asks his father also.

[604] If two of his classificatory uncles are expressly opposed, the plan must be abandoned. But there is no possible sanction for disobedience.

The suitor does not make the proposal himself; after making sure of the agreement of the girl he sends two persons, one of his uncles or brothers and one of his sisters in the classificatory sense.

These envoys speak to the woman's mother and uncles assembled together. If they agree, they go to ask for the assent of the head of the lineage. The men and women of the woman's lineage drink together a liter of tafia brought by the [969] envoys. Before drinking, the doyen of the lineage pours a little of it on the ground while invoking the ancestors, asking them to perpetuate the accord of the household and to grant them health and fecundity. This ceremony is made on the spot and they do not go to the fraga tiki, for they would be afraid to present themselves again at the fraga tiki in case of a break-up; prayer said anywhere in the village is not binding.

The two envoys, man and woman, play a very precise role. The man represents the postulant (it is a sort of marriage by proxy).

/158 cont./

156 The Boni woman, poor in emotional feelings, and jealous of her independence with respect to men, puts her pride into subsisting by her own efforts.

178 [156] The young women, even the ones with the freest habits, stay firmly attached to their village, to their plantings, and to the mode of life they received from their grandmothers. In fact, because of its structure and customs, the society of the Refugee Blacks has much less likelihood of suffering from the poisons spread by modern life than the patrilineal societies of Black Africa.

761 /159/ Death; Burial Rites

Death is for the Refugee Blacks an event of extreme gravity.

775 In order to ward off danger and permit the yɔrka of the dead person to take its place among the ancestors, the unstinting cooperation of everyone is required.

764 765 181 [621] [619] The ceremonies which have to do with death and mourning are by far the most important ones in the day-to-day life of the Refugee Blacks; for each one they represent a very heavy material load which is accepted without recriminations. It is really a veritable mobilization, which takes place within the framework of the village and not of the lineage. The apparatus set into motion is independent of the lineage, for it must function in the same way for an outsider, Djuka or Saramaka, who dies during a trip.

764 868 767 Participation in the burial rites is for all an essential religious duty. From childhood the Boni are prepared for this task and become, some of them kisimã (coffin-makers), others ɔlɔmã (grave-diggers), some others wasimã (bathers of the dead).

767 467 Kisimã and ɔlɔmã. It can be said that in each village, ɔlɔmã and kisimã constitute customary societies, provided with an organization and wielding veritable powers for the duration of their work.

/168 cont./

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against the lineage. The god ratifies this legacy or not; in general it follows, they say, the wishes of its bearer and manifests itself some time afterward in the designated heir.

The coffin is placed on the heads of two men: Tafanié puts the questions with authority. He begins first by making sure of the passivity of the bearers, invites the dead woman to push their heads forward to say yes, to give them an impulse from right to left to say no.

The coffin advances and draws back several times; its weight is at the limit of what the two men can support. Two secondary bearers help the rear bearer, preventing the coffin from falling.

1. /Footnote at bottom of p. 168; no reference to it on the page/ Let us recall that this lineage, too few in numbers to constitute a separate social unit, lives with the Awara Bakka, with whom it has no connection through kinship or alliance.

[613]
[621]

The dead woman suddenly leads her bearers across the village. We see it come back /169/ a quarter of an hour afterward, accompanied by a woman of about 35 years, Moni, in front of whom it stopped.

Tafanié asks whether it wishes to leave its god to her; the dead woman confirms. Upon the statement of this legacy Moni's face reflects no gladness at all, nor any fear.

They explain to me that the designated heiress can in no way refuse this legacy. She must immediately begin her instruction given by a teacher, in order to become a suitable bearer. The expenses of her instruction are borne by her lineage.

/180 cont./

765 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old),
613 Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing
689 several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [578] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [778] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [784] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yɔrka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [627] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [778] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - puu baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Djuka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

765 /182 cont./
(which is the case here), they wait still longer in order to be able to group the lifting of mourning for several dead people from the same village in a single ceremony. The unfolding of the rites shows that much more importance is attached to Béniti than to the two young boys; in fact, the ceremony is devoted almost exclusively to her.

765 621 613 [829] The mourning-lifting ceremonies in Boniville are particularly interesting, for this village includes members of five different lineages. The distribution of functions and duties allows one to better understand the thought of the Boni relative to social organization; the principle of residence plays the determining role. The ceremony takes place in the village where the dead people lived, whatever their lineage was. The burden of organization is divided up about equally among all the inhabitants of the village. The /183/ members of the lineages of the dead people living in other villages are present at the ceremony, but their contribution is much less important.

765 [251] On November 8 (day called busimã kɔm) at noon, the festival begins with the arrival of the buchiman who, the week before, had caught and dried fish for the festival.

The buchiman are put under the authority of ΔTofioto (K). They are all volunteers (one who would excuse himself from rendering this service would lay himself open to being abandoned alone on the day when he would have to bear the weight of mourning for one of his near relatives). The main weight of mourning is borne by Boniville village. The people of the principal fraction of the Dju (Asisi village) furnish a rather large contribution as regards time spent fishing but symbolic as to the furnishing of tafia and imported foods.

[226] [251] [621] [613] These buchiman had been at work since October 25, catching and salting fish:

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/183 cont./

for Boniville		for Asisi-Dju
Fintiman, Klémenti, Doni, Alibi	sons and grandsons of Béniti (Dju)	3 men over 20 years old
4 young men of the Kotika lineage:		4 to 5 adolescents
1 —	Dip. I —	
2 —	Lapé —	
1 —	Papaïston —	
2 —	Poti —	

They furnished a total of two weeks of work but each one collected for himself about 15 kilograms of dry fish.

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The buchiman, riding in five large canoes decorated with multicolored oriflammes, approach the Boniville wharf where all the young people of the village are massed, the men armed with their guns, the women brandishing banners made of brand-new camisas. The hurrahs resound, punctuated by hundreds of shots. In an atmosphere of enthusiasm the buchiman make their entrance into the village and go to report on their mission to the council assembled under the mortuary shed. According to custom, this council is improvised at the last moment by the elders who are there, without attention to origin, and does not involve any definite authority.

Four baskets of dried fish are put down at the edge of the shed, for the mourning-lifting festival, then each one goes to get and arrange in his house a big personal basketful.

The fish intended for the festival are distributed among the women charged with preparing them.

About 2:00 P.M. the elders are assembled in the western part of the shed; in the eastern part, the near relatives of the dead for whom mourning will be lifted lament.

Several apinti drums are brought and placed laterally.

/187 cont./

765 Since there is no spouse in mourning (Béniti had been divorced for a long time), the ceremony stops there.

Then those present scatter in the village, go to dance, eat, and drink at one another's houses. They have the satisfied air of people who have just done an important job successfully.

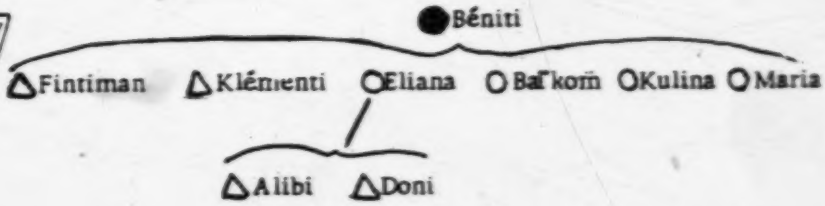
[602] On the seventh day an intimate ceremony brings together Béniti's children and grandchildren in her daughter Kulina's house, where she died. After an offering of food, they weep and lament a last time. Then Fintiman, her elder son, repeats the formula of separation:

"We have done with you; stay where God has put you."

Lifting of mourning for Béniti. Division of expenditures. Béniti belonged to the fraction of the Dju lineage settled in [613] Boniville; the principal weight of the mourning therefore had [621] to be borne by that fraction, the other (the one in Asisi) bringing a symbolic contribution.

Béniti left two sons and two adult grandsons:

[601]



/188/ Actually the elder son Fintiman paid half the expense himself, the younger son being ill and without regular [431] resources. No contribution in money is asked of the women, who must, on the other hand, draw substantial amounts from their rice stock.

/205 cont./

346 794 787 613 The objects placed in these chapels are simply the clothing, beverage, and tools of the gods when they come to visit men; they correspond nearly to what the Refugee Blacks leave in a farming habitation where they go to work regularly. For example, in the Papa gadu ɔsu of the Awara Bakka quarter of [293] Asisi, which serves for about 15 gods, each one has a definite place on the shelves to lay out especially the scarf which serves it as a garment and a bottle of beer (a bottle is always kept in readiness by the bearer of the god) (1).

1. The Papa gadu do not like tafia. If the usual bearer of one of these gods has drunk tafia, it cannot come into him.

[534] They still stow the Papa dɔ̃ drum in this chapel. This drum, like the chapel itself, is believed to belong to the Papa gadu god which first came into a member of the lineage to exercise the kunu. In the example mentioned of the Awara [428] /206/ Bakka lo of Asisi, in 1957 it was the centenarian grandmother Kuluba who had borne this god since her youth, having herself received it, by several successive transmissions, from a distant ancestress.

• [621] In villages like Boniville and Papaïston where fragments of lineage of entirely different origins coexist, each has its own organization.

For example in Boniville there is a Papa gadu ɔsu for the fragment of the Lapé lineage (it belongs to Térésa whose god exercises the kunu on this lineage). The fragment of the lineage has another.

In Papaïston the Tolna (Bakabuchi) lineage, reduced to half a dozen persons, has a Papa gadu ɔsu of its own.

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
778 Dipélu II lo. Gy...., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu. ○ Akumuyé
614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by [illegible] Taawa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[753] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people
could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[786] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanné, Anèta's
[787] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanné's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara-Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 613 114 A kunu is exercised by a Dipélu yaka, borne in 1958 by a Loka woman. It is invoked before the fraga tiki of l'Enfant Perdu village (Dipélu I). Sometimes a broko dé is celebrated for it in the same forms as the ceremony of the eighth day after death.

784 613 114 We have likewise not been able to collect complete information on the kunu of the Kotika lineage. This lineage, divided into three fractions, forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

784 613 705 789 961 684 A kunu is exercised by the yaka of a Surinam Creole assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. Its bearer in 1958 was Todo (K1, E68), a man of the Kotika lo living in Botopasi. In 1958 a young woman of the lineage, Awini (K1, E37), died suddenly; the yaka revealed that it had struck Awini because she had a liaison with Sintamann (K3, E145), thus committing sikadu. The idea of the collective responsibility of the lineage is so deeply accepted by the Boni that the near relatives of the dead woman did not reproach Sintamann at all.

784 613 705 961 619 /229/ A yaka of the Kotika lineage may exercise a kunu on the Djuka. This is the case of an affair going back to 1950; a young woman died some time after having a serious discussion with a Djuka woman who had hit her. Deaths among the Djuka these last years had been attributed to its vengeance.

784 619 613 It seems that there is no other kunu exercised by a Djuka upon a Boni lineage and vice versa. This is surprising, considering the fights which in former times set the two nations against each other.

621 784 [455] [613] The Djuka and Saramaka living isolated in the midst of the Boni know their kunu, which were revealed to them in childhood. In case of sickness, they employ divinatory procedures in order to know what kunu is concerned, then they make offerings. But in case of serious illness, they are forced to go back to the village of origin of their lineage.

St Hurault

SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

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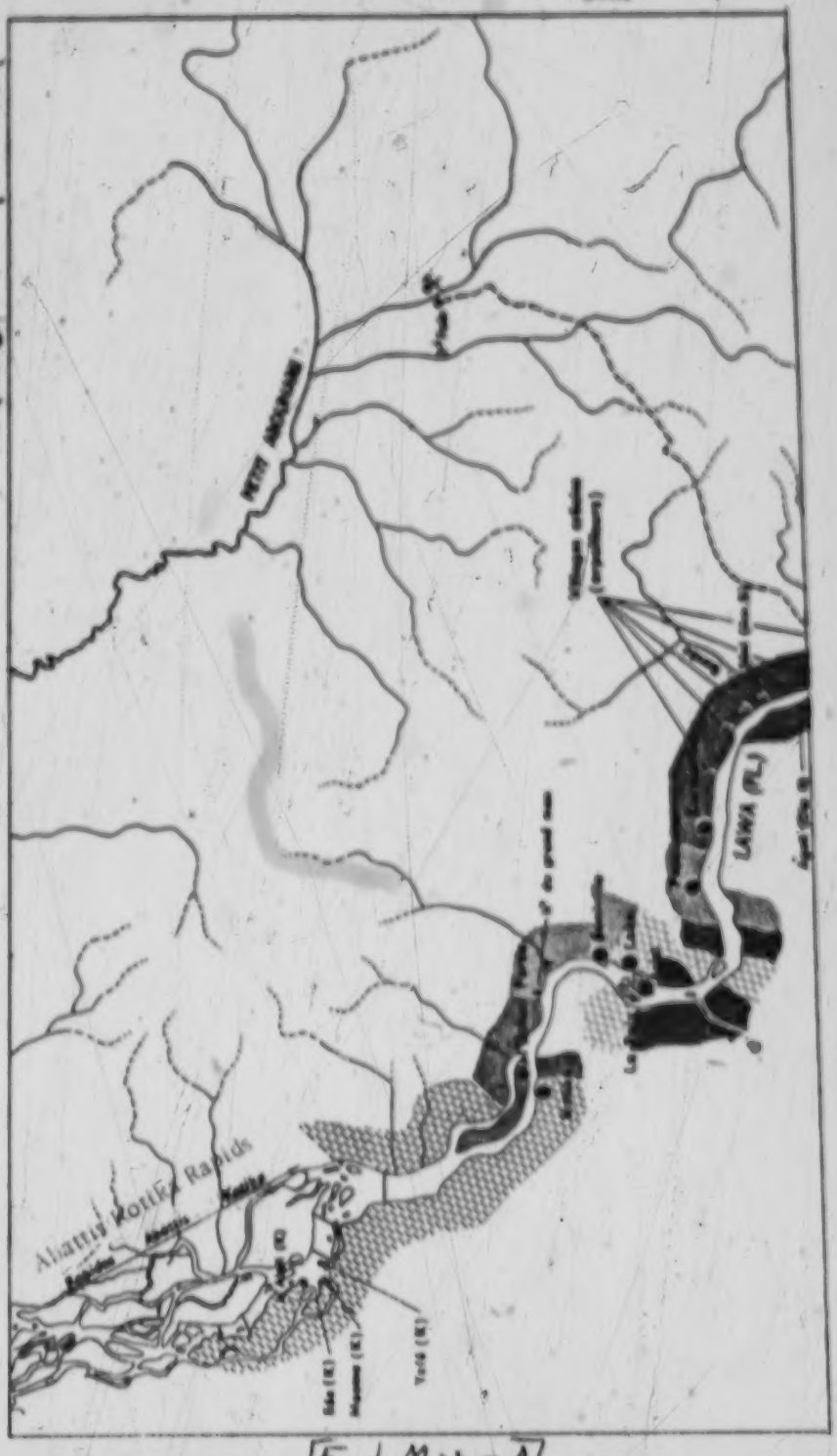
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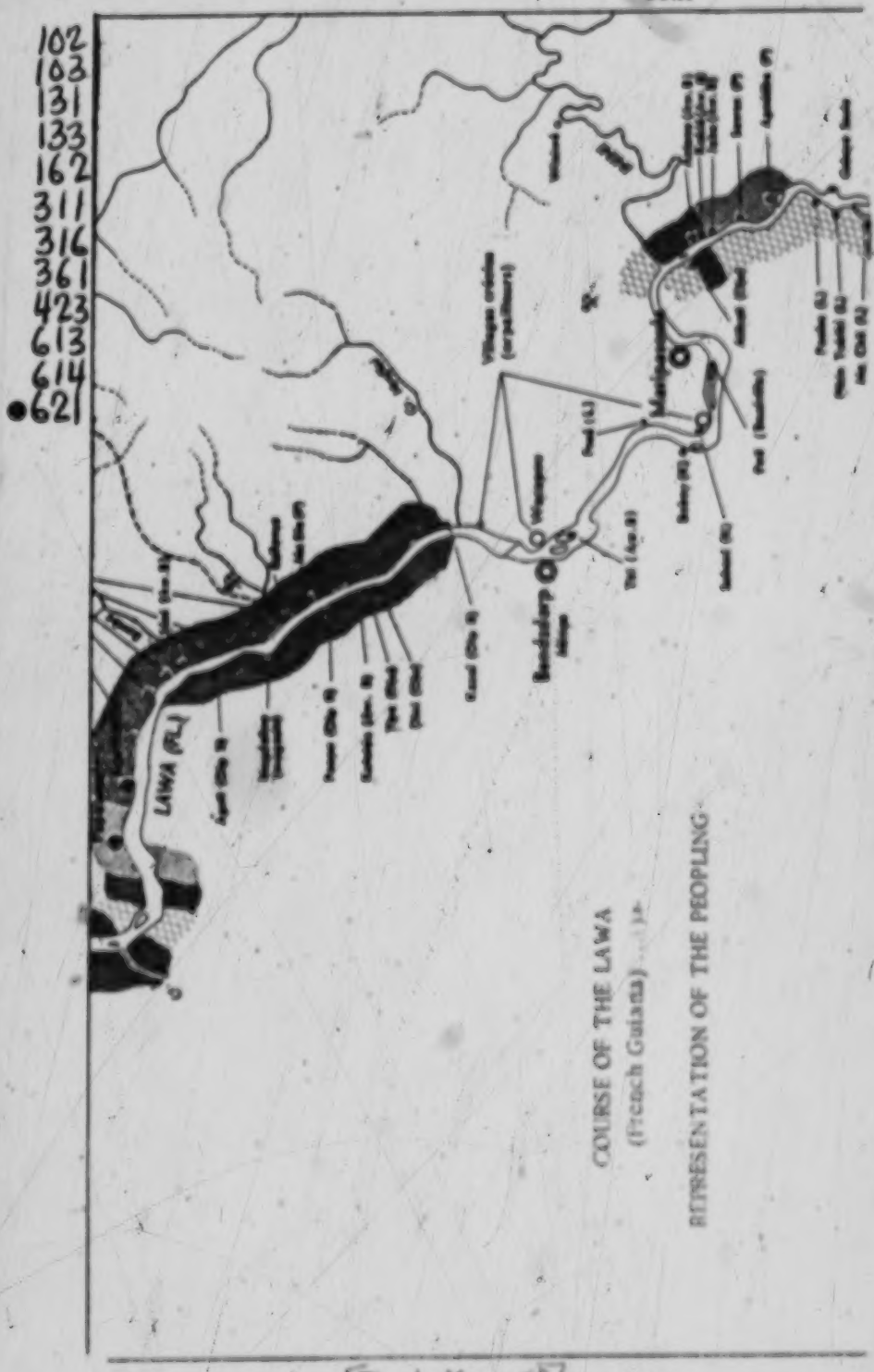
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LAWA (R.)
COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

[End Map - A]

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipéiu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo

6:Hurault--578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

102 103 131 133 162 311 316 361 423 613 614 621

6:Hurault--579 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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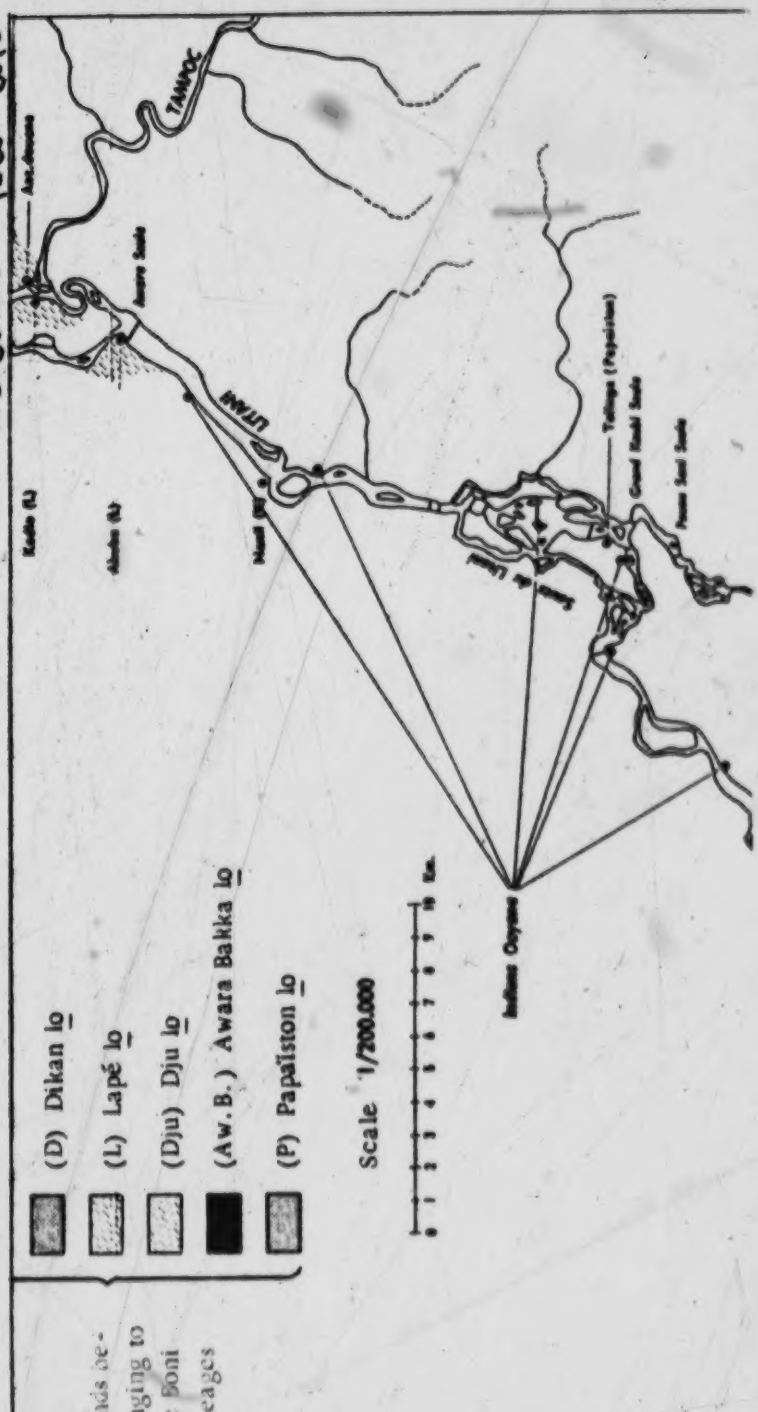

[End Map - D]